FILED 1 J. Noah Hagey, Esq. (SBN: 262331) hagey@braunhagey.com FEB 0.8 2018 2 Matthew Borden, Esq. (SBN: 214323) borden@braunhagey.com **BUSAN Y. SOONG** BRAUNHAGEY & BORDEN LLP CLERK/US) DISTRICT COURT 220 Sansome Street, Second Floor NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA San Francisco, CA 94104 Telephone: (415) 599-0210 5 Facsimile: (415) 276-1808 6 Richard J. Rogers, Esq. (SBN: 189978) richardrogers@globaldiligence.com GLOBAL DILIGENCE LLP Kemp House 152 City Rd London EC1V 2NX UNITED KINGDOM Telephone: +44 (0)74 84822740 10 COUNSEL FOR APPLICANT SAM RAINSY 11 12 UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT 13 NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA 024MISC 14 In re Ex Parte Application of 15 SAM RAINSY, an individual residing in France, 16 **EXPARTE APPLICATION FOR** Applicant, ORDER PURSUANT TO 28 U.S.C. § 1782 17 GRANTING LEAVE TO OBTAIN DISCOVERY FOR USE IN FOREIGN For an Order Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1782 PROCEEDINGS; SUPPORTING 18 Granting Leave to Obtain Discovery from MEMORANDUM OF POINTS AND 19 FACEBOOK, INC., **AUTHORITIES** 20 Respondent, 21 For use in connection with Foreign Proceedings. 22 23 24 25 26 27 28

EX PARTE APPLICATION FOR DISCOVERY FOR USE IN FOREIGN PROCEEDINGS

Applicant Sam Rainsy files this Application pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1782 seeking leave to serve Facebook, Inc., a corporation located in the Northern District of California, with a subpoena seeking discovery, or, in the alternative, for an Order to Show Cause as to why such discovery should not be granted. This Application is supported by the accompanying Memorandum of Points and Authorities, the Declaration of Applicant Sam Rainsy (the "Sam Decl."), the Declaration of counsel J. Noah Hagey (the "Hagey Decl."), and all other papers and things in support thereof and/or of which the Court might properly take judicial notice.

SUMMARY OF REQUESTED RELIEF

Applicant is a founder of the Cambodian National Rescue Party ("CNRP"), the leading United Nations-recognized opposition party in Cambodia. For decades, Applicant has been Cambodia's most vocal political opposition figure and been subject to assassination attempts and threats from Cambodia's ruling authoritarian ruler and ex-Khmer Rouge commander, Hun Sen.

Applicant brings this Petition to obtain targeted discovery in Facebook's possession pursuant to Section 1782. The material is for use in connection with responding to criminal and civil proceedings initiated against Applicant by Hun Sen and his regime. Hun and his agents have misused Facebook to publish death threats against Applicant, spread false propaganda, and mislead ordinary Cambodians about Hun's alleged popularity.

The information in Facebook's possession will help Applicant respond to Hun's and his regime's charges and to establish their rampant funding and misuse of Facebook's platform. In Cambodia, like many countries, and especially repressive ones where traditional media is restrained by the government and where mobile phones are ubiquitous, Facebook has become the main platform for news and discourse. The site's ability to broadly distribute information also has been a source of well-publicized concern about its abuse by corrupt interests to instantaneously manipulate the opinions of vast numbers of people. Facebook increasingly has embraced this challenge, recognizing that it "ha[s] a moral duty to understand how these technologies are being used and what can be done to make communities like Facebook as representative, civil and trustworthy as possible." (Hagey Decl., Ex. 3 (Samidh Chakrabarti, *Hard Questions: What Effect Does Social Media Have on Democracy?* FACEBOOK NEWSROOM (Jan. 22, 2018) available at

https://newsroom.fb.com/news/2018/01/effect-social-media-democracy/).)

As detailed in the Application, there is significant evidence that Hun and his agents have systematically misused Facebook's platform in violation of its policies, principles and community standards. Hun's government has used the network to threaten violence against political opponents and dissidents, disseminate false information, and manipulate his (and the regime's) supposed popularity, thus seeking to foster an illusion of popular legitimacy.

As part of their effort to quell dissent and to mislead the public, Hun and his cohorts have brought at least four pending legal proceedings against Applicant based on content he posted on Facebook. *First*, on or about March 10, 2016, the government official in charge of Hun's Facebook page filed civil defamation charges against Applicant for posting that millions of Hun's Facebook "likes" were deceptively generated by "click farms." *Second*, on or about August 1, 2016, Hun commenced criminal defamation and "incitement" charges against Applicant for posting on his Facebook page that the murder of respected human rights activist and journalist Dr. Kem Ley was a government-ordered assassination. *Third*, on or about January 17, 2017, the government initiated criminal defamation charges at the behest of a Cambodian celebrity with ties to the Hun regime after Applicant posted information showing that the celebrity had been bribed by Hun's associates (including members of Hun's family) to voice support for the government. *Fourth*, on or about December 7, 2017, the Hun regime charged Applicant with criminal "incitement" based on statements Applicant posted to his Facebook page urging Cambodia's military to cease use of deadly force against peaceful protestors.

The requested discovery seeks documents and information that will allow Applicant to defend against the foregoing proceedings, to reopen or seek appeal of those cases, as well as to file related cases challenging Hun's abuses of power. Applicant's Subpoena and related document requests and deposition categories are set forth as **Exhibit 1** to the Declaration of J. Noah Hagey and are incorporated by reference herein as if set forth in their entirety.

This Application is based on the attached Memorandum of Point and Authorities, the Declaration of Sam Rainsy and documents appended thereto, and the Declaration of J. Noah Hagey, including the Subpoena appended as **Exhibit 1** thereto.

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	EX PARTE APPLICATION FOR DISCOVERY FOR	USE IN FOREIGN PROCEEDINGS

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15	In re Ex Parte Application of	Case No.
	SAM RAINSY, an individual residing in France,	MEMORANDUM OF DOINTS AND
16	Applicant,	MEMORANDUM OF POINTS AND AUTHORITIES IN SUPPORT OF 28
17 18	For an Order Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1782 Granting Leave to Obtain Discovery from	U.S.C. § 1782 APPLICATION FOR DISCOVERY FROM FACEBOOK, INC.
19	FACEBOOK, INC.,	
20	Respondent,	
21	For use in connection with Foreign Proceedings.	
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Applicant Sam Rainsy respectfully submits this Memorandum in support of his Application, pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1782, for leave to serve discovery in aid of foreign proceedings.

INTRODUCTION

- 1. Applicant respectfully requests leave to serve Facebook, Inc., a local corporation, with a Subpoena seeking targeted discovery in aid of foreign proceedings, or in the alternative, an Order to Show Cause as to why such a Subpoena should not be issued. The Subpoena and [Proposed Order] granting the requested relief are attached to this Application as Exhibits 1 and 2 to the Declaration of J. Noah Hagey ("Hagey Decl.").
- 2. Applicant is a founder and leader of the Cambodian National Rescue Party ("CNRP"), the only significant opposition party in Cambodia. For over 30 years, Cambodia has been ruled by Hun Sen, a former Khmer Rouge commander, who has remained in power by manipulating elections, censorship, extrajudicial killings, arbitrary arrests, and summary trials. (Hagey Decl., Ex. 6 (30 Years of Hun Sen: Violence, Repression, and Corruption in Cambodia, HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH (Jan. 12, 2015), https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/01/12/30-years-hunsen/violence-repression-and-corruption-cambodia ("Human Rights Watch Report")).)
- Hun has explained his political philosophy as follows: "I not only weaken the 3. opposition, I'm going to make them dead . . . and if anyone is strong enough to try to hold a demonstration, I will beat all those dogs and put them in a cage." (Id. at 1 (ellipses in original).) In his longstanding rein, international organizations have documented the regime's systematic intimidation and murder of "hundreds of opposition figures, journalists, trade union leaders, and others ... in politically motivated attacks." (*Id.* at 2.)
- Hun has also maintained his power by initiating "legal proceedings" against his 4. opponents. (Declaration of Sam Rainsy ("Sam Decl.") ¶¶ 3, 5-7, 11-12.) In 2016, at least 20 individuals aligned with the CNRP, including members of Cambodia's Parliament and their supporters, were arrested. (Id. \P 9.) Three are serving 20-year sentences. (Id.) In September 2017, the acting President of the CNRP was arrested. (Id. ¶ 10.) In November 2017, the Cambodian Supreme Court held a summary trial that disbanded CNRP and banned 118 of its senior officials from any political activity in Cambodia for five years. (Hagey Decl., Ex. 7 (Ben Sokhean,

- Mech Dara, & Ananth Baliga, 'Death of Democracy': CNRP Dissolved by Supreme Court Ruling, 1 THE PHNOM PENH POST, Nov. 17, 2017, available at http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national-2 post-depth-politics/death-democracy-cnrp-dissolved-supreme-court-ruling).) The decision has 3 4 been widely condemned by prominent international human rights groups as well as the U.S. Congress and the White House. (Hagey Decl., Ex. 8 (Press Release, White House Press Secretary, 5 Setbacks to Democracy in Cambodia, available at https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-6 statements/statement-press-secretary-setbacks-democracy-cambodia/ ("White House Press 7 Release")); Id., Ex. 9 (S. Res. 279, 115th Cong. (2017), available at https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-resolution/279/text ("U.S. Senate Resolution 9 279") (quoting Human Rights Watch Report)).) 10 11 5. Because he has not been able to capture or kill Applicant, Hun and his cronies have 12 initiated four legal actions against Applicant in Cambodia, even though he is currently living in exile in France. (Sam Decl. ¶¶ 3, 5-7, 11-12.) In one proceeding, Applicant has been sued for 13 defamation for posting on his Facebook page that the "likes" on Hun's Facebook page were 14 purchased from click farms. In another defamation case, Applicant was sued for posting on 15 16 Facebook that Hun bribed a social media star to support him. In a third defamation case, Applicant has been sued for posting on his Facebook page that the assassination of political activist, Dr. Kem 17 Ley, was a government hit. In a fourth proceeding, Applicant is being criminally prosecuted for 18 "incitement" based on statements he posted to Facebook urging Cambodia's military not to use 19 deadly force against peaceful protestors. Applicant seeks the requested discovery to defend himself 20 21 in these proceedings, all of which are presently pending. The Application satisfies § 1782's three statutory requirements. First, it has been 22 6. 23 filed in "the district in which [the] person resides" because Facebook is based in Menlo Park, 24 ¹ On January 11, 2018, Hin Vansreypov was sentenced to prison for "incitement to commit a 25 felony" for posting on Facebook that Hun's regime was responsible for assassinating Dr. Ley, and
- 1 On January 11, 2018, Hin Vansreypov was sentenced to prison for "incitement to commit a felony" for posting on Facebook that Hun's regime was responsible for assassinating Dr. Ley, and political analyst Kim Sok is also serving time over similar comments. (Hagey Decl., Ex. 10 (Niem Chheng, Woman Who Accused Hun Sen of Kem Ley Assassination on Facebook Sentenced, THE PHNOM PENH POST, Jan. 11, 2018, available at http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/woman-who-accused-hun-sen-kem-ley-assassination-facebook-sentenced

("Assassination Article")).)

California. 28 U.S.C. § 1782(a). Second, Applicant seeks the requested discovery "for use in a proceeding in a foreign ... tribunal" – in Cambodia's domestic courts. (Sam Decl. ¶¶ 6-7, 11-12.) Third, Applicant qualifies as an "interested person" in those foreign proceedings because he is a defendant. (*Id.*) The Application also satisfies the four prudential *Intel* factors set forth by the Supreme Court because (1) Facebook is not a party to any of the foreign proceedings, (2) the information sought is highly relevant, (3) there are no applicable foreign discovery restrictions, (4) Applicant's requests are not unduly burdensome, and 5) granting the Application will promote efficient discovery.

7. Facebook has stated its commitment to preventing political misuse of its valuable platform. Prompt release of the targeted discovery requested in this Application would further that goal. For these and other reasons, Applicant respectfully seeks prompt production of the requested discovery.

FACTUAL BACKGROUND

A. Hun's Violent Rise to Power and Brutal Dictatorship in Cambodia

8. Starting as a platoon-leader, Hun climbed through the ranks of the Khmer Rouge, where units under his control committed crimes against humanity, including mass executions and attacks on civilians. (Hagey Decl., **Ex. 6** at 13-15, 18-20 (Human Rights Watch Report).) After Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1979, Hun was appointed foreign minister of the Vietnamese-backed People's Republic of Kampuchea ("PRK"), which ran the country as a police state. (*Id.*)² He became prime minister in 1985, where he sought to eliminate political opposition and dissent through "widespread and systematic violations of human rights in both conflict and non-conflict settings, including large-scale prolonged arbitrary detention without charge or trial; unfair trials; routine torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment of detainees; and extra-judicial killings." (*Id.* at 27.) Since 1985, Hun has ruled Cambodia with an iron fist.

² Before becoming prime minister, Hun was instrumental in running the notorious K5 program, which was a forced-labor project to build a wall between Cambodia and Thailand. As many as a million citizens were forced to work without pay, with little food, without medical care, and often without mosquito netting, resulting in numerous deaths from malaria. (*Id.* at 22-26.) Many others were killed and disfigured by landmines. (*Id.*)

1	9. Applicant is the longstanding leader of Cambodia's movement for reform and
2	democracy. After the killing of a journalist in 1996, Applicant began "staging regular protests over
3	abor rights, corruption, illegal logging, the environment, and the lack of political pluralism." (Id.
4	at 37.) After the formation of Cambodia's first labor unions in 1997, more protests ensued.
5	Applicant attended many of them. (Id.)
6	10. In 1997, a peaceful demonstration attended by Applicant was broken up by a
7	grenade attack. (Id.) "When the grenade-throwing was over, at least 16 people lay dead and dyin
8	More than 150 were injured." (Id.) Human Rights Watch described the attack as follows:
9 10	The main target, Sam Rainsy, survived the attack. After the first grenade exploded, Rainsy's bodyguard, Han Muny, threw himself on top of his leader. He took the full force of a subsequent grenade and
11	died at the scene Body parts of other victims littered the area One photo shows a teenage girl with her legs blown off trying to
12	stand up. Cambodian police present not only did not help the injured, but some tried to block bystanders from assisting victims.
13	(Id. at 37-38.) It further explained:
14	The attack was well-planned. Members of the personal bodyguard
15	unit of Hun Sen, Brigade 70, were deployed in full riot gear at the
16	rally The elite military unit not only failed to prevent the attack, but was seen by numerous witnesses opening up its lines to allow the
17 18	grenade-throwers to escape through a CPP-controlled [Cambodian People's Party] area of Phnom Penh, and then threatened to shoot people trying to pursue the attackers.
19	(Id. at 38.)
20	11. "The March 30 grenade attack has cast a long shadow over Cambodian politics that
21	remains today." (Id. at 39.) Since the time of the attack, Hun has maintained control of Cambodi
22	through violence and fear and has continued with his practice of extrajudicial killings, including t
23	assassination of Dr. Kem Ley one year ago. (Id. at 58.)
24	12. Both the United States Congress and the White House have condemned Hun for
25	"dissolution" of the political party opposing him - Applicant's CNRP - as well as suppressing th
26	independent media and manipulating elections. (Hagey Decl., Ex. 8 (White House Press Release
27	Id., Ex. 9 (U.S. Senate Resolution 279).) Bringing legal proceedings against his enemies is also a
28	important way Hun has maintained his dictatorship. (Id., Ex. 9 (U.S. Senate Resolution 279

("during the first 10 months of 2014, the Phnom Penh Municipal Court sentenced 55 people to prison terms after unfair trials on charges such as 'treacherously plotting' to stage an armed insurrection; instigating, inciting, or perpetrating violence; obstructing traffic; or engaging in 'violent resistance against a public official.' In these proceedings, no credible evidence was presented to support a guilty verdict") (documenting imprisonment of "peaceful protesters" on "charges of obstructing traffic and obstructing government authorities' performance of their official duties")).)

B. Hun's Misuse of Facebook

13. In 2016, Facebook became Cambodia's most popular news source. (Hagey Decl., **Ex. 11** (Ben Paviour, *What a Facebook Experiment Did to News in Cambodia*, BBC NEWS (Oct. 31, 2017), *available at* http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41801071 ("Facebook Experiment Article")).) Facebook played a critical role in helping Applicant's CNRP gain seats over Hun's Cambodian People's Party ("CPP") in the 2013 parliamentary election. (*Id.*) After his party lost seats in the 2013 election to the opposition, Hun ramped up his presence on Facebook. (*Id.*) He then began misusing the platform by artificially inflating the number of "likes" on his page to create the appearance of popular support and spreading fake news.

1. Hun's Use of Click Farms to Generate Fake "Likes"

14. Hun's Facebook page was set up after his party, the Cambodian People's Party ("CPP") lost more than 20 parliamentary seats to Applicant's CNRP in the 2013 election. (Hagey Decl., Ex. 12 (Elaine Kurtenbach and Sopheng Cheang, Cambodia Leaders Rev Up Facebook Rivalry As Popularity Soars, JAKARTA POST, Mar. 3, 2016, available at http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/03/03/cambodia-leaders-rev-facebook-rivalry-popularity-soars.html).) Since then, Hun has misused the platform to manipulate the Cambodian public into thinking he enjoys widespread popular support. For example, even though Hun is relatively new to Facebook, a study by public relations firm Burson-Marsteller ranked his page as the eighth most popular in the world. (Hagey Decl., Ex. 11 (Facebook Experiment Article).) This is especially remarkable because Cambodia is the 71st most populous country in the world. (Hagey Decl., Ex. 13 (ranking countries by population size).)

- 1	
1	15. Hun has achieved this level of "popularity" by utilizing "click farms" to artificially
2	bolster the number of "likes" on his page and posts, which explains why Hun's Facebook page is
3	"liked" by nearly 9.4 million people even though only 4.8 million Cambodians use Facebook.
4	Compare Hagey Decl., Ex. 14 (showing over 9 million "likes" on Hun Sen's page) with Hagey
5	Decl., Ex. 15 (Megha Rajagopalan, This Country's Democracy Has Fallen Apart – And it Played
6	Out to Millions on Facebook, BuzzFeed News (Jan. 21, 2018), available at
7	https://www.buzzfeed.com/meghara/
8	<u>facebook-cambodia democracy?utm_term=.uiKoXo3rBk#.btYv0v5m1b</u> ("Democracy Has Fallen
9	Apart Article") ("Cambodia has about 4.8 million Facebook users, according to a 2017
10	assessment.")).
1	16. Millions of "likes" on Hun's page, which is only available in Khmer, come from
12	India, the Philippines, Brazil, and Myanmar – countries where Khmer is not widely spoken and tha
13	are well-known for operating click farms. (Sam Decl., Ex. 1 (Daniel Nass & Shaun Turton, Only
4	20 per cent of PM's recent Facebook 'likes' from Cambodia, THE PHNOM PENH POST, March 9,
15	2016, available at http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/only-20-cent-pms-recent-facebook-
16	likes-cambodia).)
17	17. Utilizing click farms to generate fake "likes" on Facebook pages and posts is a
18	direct violation of Facebook's policies. (Hagey Decl., Ex. 16 (Facebook Pages: Keeping Activity
19	Authentic, FACEBOOK, https://www.facebook.com/business/a/page/fake-likes ("Keeping Activity
20	Authentic Article") ("We have a strong incentive to aggressively go after the bad actors behind
21	fake likes")).)
22	2. Hun's Use of Facebook to Spread Fake News
23	18. Hun also uses the Facebook platform to propagate fake news. "When Facebook firs
24	came to Cambodia, many hoped it would help to usher in a new period of free speech, amplifying
25	voices that countered the narrative of the government-friendly traditional press. Instead, the
26	*
27 28	³ Click farms employ "low paid workers" in developing countries like India and the Philippines to create fake Facebook accounts and then artificially "bolster likes, followers, and views" on profiles
28	and posts to make them appear more popular than they really are. See Sam Decl., Ex. 1.

opposite has happened. Prime Minister Hun Sen is now using the platform to promote his message while jailing his critics." (Hagey Decl., Ex. 15 (Democracy Has Fallen Apart Article).)

In November 2017, *The Nation* reported:

In [the] past, Hun Sen has relied on more traditional strongman tactics to maintain power. In 1997, Hun Sen removed his rivals in a coup d'état, sending tanks and soldiers into the streets. But with fake news, autocrats no longer need to resort to open violence or to dispatch their special forces to capture radio and TV stations to broadcast their messages. From Facebook, leaders can dream up conspiracies, publish them on their own fake-news pages, use targeted advertising to reach susceptible audiences, and voilá - they have manufactured a new ruling mandate With declining access to independent newspapers and radio broadcasts, Facebook seemed [Cambodians'] most trusted source of information [Hun Sen's spreading of fake news on Facebook is] in many ways . . . indicative of how despots seize power in the age of Facebook.

(Hagey Decl., **Ex. 17** (Geoffrey Cain, *Fake News and the Death of Democracy in Cambodia*, THE NATION (Nov. 21, 2017), *available at* https://www.thenation.com/article/fake-news-and-the-death-of-democracy-in-cambodia/ (emphasis added)).)

- 19. In addition to his own Facebook page and the government's Facebook page, Hun promotes fake news through "independent" Facebook posts. For example, Lim Cheavutha, the founder of Fresh News, Cambodia's equivalent of Breitbart, "says he's so close to Hun Sen that they sometimes message about stories well past midnight." (Hagey Decl., **Ex. 15** (Democracy Has Fallen Apart Article).)
- 20. One of the most egregious examples of Hun posting intentionally fabricated misinformation on Facebook involves his treatment of former members of Applicant's opposition party. Many CNRP members have fled to other countries in the wake of the regime's crack down on dissidents and human rights activists.
- 21. On November 26, 2017, Hun used Facebook to lure those expatriates back to Cambodia. During a live Facebook broadcast, he told dissidents that "no harm would come" to those that returned to Cambodia. See https://youtu.be/GLJ9pb6IWVA (last visited 2-8-2018). See also Yon Sineat, PM warns former CNRP members in Thailand of deporation, THE PHNOM PENH

26. To put such figures in perspective, the average Cambodian makes less than \$153 USD *per month*, and less than \$2,000 USD *per year*. Hun's annual Facebook advertising expenditures thus represent the total annual income of over 2,500 Cambodian citizens.

C. The Foreign Legal Proceedings against Applicant

- Applicant. (Sam Decl. ¶¶ 3, 5-7, 11-12.) In one proceeding, Applicant was sued for defamation by Som Soeun, the government official in charge of Hun's Khmer language Facebook page, for posting that the majority of the "likes" on Hun's page were purchased from "click farms." (Sam Decl. ¶ 6.) On November 8, 2016, Applicant was found guilty of defamation for his statements regarding the legitimacy of the "likes" on Hun's Facebook page. (Sam. Decl. ¶ 6.) The judgment was summarily upheld in January 2017, and Applicant is appealing in Cambodia's Supreme Court. (*Id.*) Under Cambodian law, Applicant may submit evidence as part of his appeal. (Cambodian Criminal Proceedings Code, Arts. 444-46; Sam Decl. ¶ 16; Ex. 6.)
- 28. Hun and his agents have also initiated a criminal defamation prosecution against Applicant for stating on his Facebook page that the assassination of the political activist, Dr. Kem Ley, was ordered by the Cambodian government. (Sam Decl. ¶ 7.) Applicant was convicted of those charges on March 30, 2017, and is appealing that conviction. (*Id.*) At least two other people have been sentenced to prison for similar speech. (Hagey Decl., **Ex. 10** (Assassination Article).)
- 29. In January 2017, Hun filed a defamation suit against Applicant based on a Facebook post in which Applicant claimed that Cambodian social media celebrity (and former CNRP supporter) Thy Sovantha accepted a \$1 million bribe from Hun to switch parties and speak out against the CNRP. (Sam Decl. ¶ 12.) On December 28, 2017, Applicant was found guilty of defamation, and ordered to pay a fine approximately equivalent to \$1 million USD. Applicant is appealing this judgment as well. (*Id.*).
- 30. Most recently, on December 7, 2017, just weeks after the Cambodia Supreme Court issued an internationally condemned decision disbanding the Applicant's CNRP party and banning 118 of its members from participating in politics for five years, the Cambodian government commenced a criminal prosecution against Applicant for criminal "incitement" based on statements

Applicant posted to Facebook urging Cambodia's military not to use deadly force against peaceful protestors. (*Id.* ¶ 11.)

- D. Hun Seeks to Manipulate Facebook to Mislead and Coerce Cambodians and Undermine Legitimate Elections
- 31. Hun's misuse of Facebook is widespread and well known and emulates some of the issues encountered in other countries, including during the 2016 U.S. presidential election. In the wake of these events, Facebook has become "embroiled in a larger debate over its role in spreading fake news and misinformation aimed at influencing elections in the United States and other nations." (Hagey Decl., Ex. 18 (Sheera Frenkel, Nicholas Casey, and Paul Mozur, *In Some Countries, Facebook's Fiddling Has Magnified Fake News*, N.Y. TIMES, Jan. 14, 2018, *available at* https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/14/technology/facebook-news-feed-changes.html ("Facebook and Fake News Article")).) Others have commented that the platform is now reckoning "with its role in passively enabling human rights abuses." (Hagey Decl., Ex. 19 (Ingrid Burrington, *Could Facebook Be Tried for Human-Rights Abuses?*, THE ATLANTIC (DEC. 20, 2017), *available at* https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2017/ (Facebook "was accused of censoring activists and journalists documenting incidents and posting about what the State Department has called
- 32. In October 2017, Facebook began testing changes to its popular "News Feed" in six post-conflict countries, including Cambodia (the "test countries"). (Hagey Decl., **Ex. 18** (Facebook and Fake News Article).) In the test countries, Facebook moved news posts off its general News Feed and onto a new section of the platform called "Explore Feed." (*Id.*)

ethnic cleansing of the country's Rohingya minority")).)

33. The Explore Feed has hampered ordinary citizens' ability to spread independent news in two ways. First, it moved news onto a page few Cambodians use, or even know about. (Hagey Decl., **Ex. 11** (Facebook Experiment Article).) Second, it requires news sources to pay to sponsor posts, something many of the NGOs and independent news sources reporting on Hun's dictatorial tactics are unable to do. (*E.g.*, Hagey Decl., **Ex. 20** (Thomas Beller, *The Devastating Shutdown of the Cambodia Daily*, The New Yorker (Sept. 12, 2017), *available at*

28

1	E.	Hun's Standa	Misuse of Facebook Violates Facebook's Terms of Use and Community ards
2		1.	Facebook's Policies
3	37.	Facebo	ook has sought to prevent misuse of its platform, including through
4	prohibiting the	e very ty	ypes of abuse engaged in by Hun. When a user signs up for Facebook, the
5	user must adh	ere to F	acebook's Terms and Policies, which are reflected in various terms and
6	statements on	the con	npany's website, https://www.facebook.com/policies (the "Facebook
7	Policies"). The	e Faceb	ook Policies incorporate its Data Policy and Principles and Community
8	Standards. (Id	d., Exs.	21A-21C.)
9	The St	atement	t of Rights and Responsibilities provides:
10		6. You	will not bully, intimidate, or harass any user.
11			will not post content that: is hate speech, threatening, or graphic; incites violence; or contains nudity or graphic or
12			ous violence
13			will not use Facebook to do anything unlawful, misleading, ous, or discriminatory
14	(Hagey Decl.,	Ex. 26.)
15	38.	These	rules are also discussed in Facebook's Community Standards, which were
16	developed wit	h the go	oal of helping "people feel safe when using Facebook." (Hagey Decl., Ex.
17	21B .) The Co	mmuni	ty Standards explain that Facebook will "remove credible threats to public
18	figures" and p	rohibit	the use of "misleading or inaccurate information to artificially collect likes,
19	followers, or s	shares."	(Id.)
20	39.	The Fa	cebook policies are based on the site's foundational and guiding principle of
21	"mak[ing] the	world r	more open and transparent" so as to "create greater understanding and
22	connection."	(Hagey	Decl., Ex. 21C (Facebook, Facebook Principles,
23	https://www.fa	acebook	a.com/principles.php (last visited Feb. 7, 2018)).)
24	40.	Facebo	ook also has come under public scrutiny and criticism around alleged abuses
25	committed thr	ough its	s site by malignant interests, which rose to a fever pitch following the 2016
26	U.S. election.	In resp	onse, Facebook has repeatedly emphasized its commitment to shutting down
27	misuse of its p	latform	
28	41.	For exa	ample, on October 31, 2017, Facebook's General Counsel, Colin Stretch,

1	testified before Congress that more than 126 million users potentially saw inflammatory political
2	ads bought by a Kremlin-linked company leading up to the 2016 U.S. presidential elections.
3	(Hagey Decl., Ex. 22 (Cecilia Kang, Nicholas Fandos, & Mike Isaac, Tech Executives Are Contrite
4	About Election Meddling, but Make Few Promises on Capitol Hill, N.Y. TIMES, Oct. 31, 2017,
5	available at https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/31/us/politics/facebook-twitter-google-hearings-
6	congress.html?mtrref=undefined).)
7	42. Mr. Stretch's opening remarks as General Counsel explained that misuse of the
8	platform to rig elections and mislead the public would no longer be tolerated:
9	The foreign interference we saw is reprehensible. That foreign actors, hiding behind safe accounts, abused our platform and
10	other Internet services to try to sow division and discord and to try to undermine the election is an assault on democracy
12	that is directly contrary to our values and violates everything Facebook stands for.
3	Id. (emphasis added). Likewise, after rolling out modifications to Facebook's News Feed in the
14	test countries, Mr. Mosseri, head of Facebook's News Feed, issued a statement that the company
15	takes its role as a "global platform for information" seriously. (Hagey Decl., Ex. 18 (Facebook and
6	Fake News Article).) "We have a responsibility to the people who read, watch, and share news on
17	Facebook, and every test is done with that responsibility in mind." <i>Id.</i>
8	43. Messrs. Stretch and Mosseri's statements are aligned with Mark Zuckerberg's recent
9	public statements about misuse of Facebook's platform. On January 4, 2018, Mark Zuckerberg
20	posted the following on his own Facebook page:
21	Facebook has a lot of work to do – whether it's protecting our community from abuse and hate, <i>defending against interference by</i>
22	nation states, or making sure that time spent on Facebook is well spent. My personal challenge for 2018 is to focus on fixing these
23	important issues. We won't prevent all mistakes or abuse, but we currently make too many errors enforcing our policies and
24	preventing misuse of our tools. If we're successful this year then we'll end 2018 on a much better trajectory These issues
25	touch on questions of history, civics, political philosophy, media, government, and of course technology With the rise of a small
26	number of big tech companies – and governments using technology to watch their citizens – <i>many people now believe technology only</i>
27	centralizes power rather than decentralizes it I'm looking forward to learning from working to fix our issues together.
28	(Hagey Decl., Ex. 23 (emphasis added).)

44. This message echoes the statements Mr. Zuckerberg made during Facebook's November 1, 2017 Third Quarter earnings call, during which he promised that Facebook would make substantial investments to increase the "security and integrity" of its platform, with the aim of, *inter alia*, stopping election meddling and removing false news and other problematic content. (Hagey Decl., **Ex. 24** at 2.) On the call, Mr. Zuckerberg stressed to investors that Facebook is prioritizing "protecting our community" over "maximizing our profits." (*Id.*)

2. Hun's Misconduct Is Ongoing and – As of Yet – Unchecked by Facebook

- 45. Despite these well-intentioned pronouncements and terms, Hun's account(s) remain active, and he continues to misuse Facebook in a manner which overtly violates Facebook's formal Policies. In doing so, Hun and the Cambodian regime undermine the social media site's goals of facilitating valuable communication and generating meaningful connections.
- 46. Just days ago, Hun posted on his Facebook page a video of one of his "political" speeches where he threatened to kill Applicant. (Hagey Decl., Ex. 17A ("Hun Sen delivered a fiery speech yesterday, threatening to 'attack' members of the opposition with Soviet-era rocket launchers, while also claiming he would arrest them anywhere in Asia.").)
- 47. Hun stated: "Please, don't have hope. I just want to tell you, don't force someone to put nails in your coffin. If it's in the court's hands, it's another issue, but if it is a secession issue, the BM-21 can be used to attack your area,' ... referring to a Russian-made truck-mounted rocket battery." (*Id.*) Hun also personally threatened Applicant. (*Id.*) Such conduct is bullying, intimidating, harassing, and threatening in violation of the Principles, Community Standards, and Statement of Rights and Responsibilities Nos. 6 and 9. (Hagey Decl., Exs. 21B-21C, 26.)
- 48. Hun's fake likes also violate Facebook Rule 9, which prohibits "misleading" activities. The same conduct also violates the Pages Terms, which "apply to all pages on Facebook," and outlaw posting "false, misleading, fraudulent, or deceptive ... content." (Hagey Decl., Ex. 24A (Facebook, *Pages Terms* (last revised March 30, 2017), available at https://www.facebook.com/page_guidelines.php).)

1	49. As Facebook has explained: "Likes created by fake accounts or people without real
2	intent are bad for people on Facebook, advertisers and Facebook itself." (Hagey Decl., Ex. 16
3	(Keeping Activity Authentic Article).) Accordingly, Facebook has "increased [its] automated
4	efforts to remove Likes on Pages that may have been gained by means that violate [its] Terms," and
5	is "aggressively go[ing] after the bad actors behind fake likes." (Hagey Decl., Ex. 24B (Facebook,
6	Improvements to Our Site Integrity Systems (Aug. 31, 2012),
7	https://www.facebook.com/notes/facebook-security/improvements-to-our-site-integrity-
8	systems/10151005934870766); (Hagey Decl., Ex. 16 (Keeping Activity Authentic Article).)
9	50. Similarly, Hun's use of his Facebook account to spread false news also violates
10	Facebook Rule 9 against misleading conduct, as well as the core democratic ideals of Facebook.
11	51. To-date, Facebook has not taken any action to remediate or otherwise resolve the
12	misuse of its site by Hun or his representatives and agents.
13	<u>ARGUMENT</u>
	I. THE APPLICATION SATISFIES THE STATUTORY REQUIREMENTS OF SECTION 1782
15	52. Title 28, United States Code, Section 1782 is "the product of congressional efforts,
16	over the span of nearly 150 years, to provide federal-court assistance in gathering evidence for use
17	in foreign tribunals." Intel Corp. v. Advanced Micro Devices, Inc., 542 U.S. 241, 247 (2004).
18	Over time, Congress has "substantially broadened the scope of assistance federal courts could
19	provide for foreign proceedings." <i>Id.</i> at 247-49. Section 1782(a) provides in relevant part:
20 21	The district court of the district in which a person resides or is found
22	may order him to give his testimony or statement or to produce a document or other thing for use in a proceeding in a foreign or
23	international tribunal The order may be made upon the application of any interested person and may direct that the testimony
24	or statement may be given, or the document or other thing be produced, before a person appointed by the court.
25	28 U.S.C. § 1782(a).
26	53. The statute sets forth three requirements: (1) the "person" from whom discovery is
27	sought must reside or be found in the district of the court to which the application is made, (2) the
28	request must be made "by a foreign or international tribunal or upon the application of any

54. The Application meets all three statutory requirements. First, the Application has been filed in the Northern District of California. This is "the district in which [the] person resides," as Facebook is headquartered in Menlo Park, California. (Hagey Decl., Ex. 25.) Although Facebook is a corporation, corporations are treated as persons under federal law. *Citizens United v. Fed. Election Comm'n*, 558 U.S. 310 (2010) (corporations are persons under federal law). Second, Applicant seeks the requested discovery "for use in a proceeding in a foreign ... tribunal," here, in Cambodia's domestic courts. (Sam Decl. ¶¶ 6-7, 11-12.) Third, Applicant qualifies as an "interested person" because he is a defendant in the foreign proceedings at issue. (*Id.*)

A. Facebook Resides in the Northern District of California

- 55. Facebook is a Delaware corporation with its principal place of business in Menlo Park, California. (Hagey Decl., **Ex. 25**.) Further, Facebook's terms of service specify that any disputes with Facebook will be resolved "in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California." (*Id.*, **Ex. 26** at § 15(1).) Facebook's terms of service also specify that its foreign users "consent to having [their] personal data transferred to and processed in the United States." *Id.*, **Ex. 26** at § 16.
- 56. Facebook is therefore "found" in the Northern District of California for purposes of § 1782. *In re Ex Parte Application of Qualcomm Inc.*, 162 F. Supp. 3d 1029, 1035 (N.D. Cal. 2016) ("When considering a Section 1782 application . . . 'found' [when applied to corporations] may safely be regarded as referring to judicial precedents that equate systematic and continuous local activities with presence.").

B. Applicant is an "Interested Person" under § 1782

57. Applicant is an "interested person" under § 1782. *Intel Corp.*, 542 U.S. at 256 (2004) ("No doubt litigants are included among, and may be the most common example of, the 'interested person[s]' who may invoke § 1782..."). Applicant is a defendant and/or appellant in the proceedings described above, and the requested documents are relevant to those foreign proceedings and his ability to defend himself in those proceedings.

C. Materials Are Sought for Use in Connection with Foreign Proceedings

- 58. The requested materials will be used in connection with foreign proceedings, including the Cambodian actions at issue. The burden to show that the evidence sought is for use in a foreign proceeding is "de minimis." *In re Veiga*, 746 F. Supp. 2d 8 (D.D.C. 2010) (granting Chevron's § 1782 application to obtain discovery from the plaintiffs' Ecuadorian attorney Alberto Wray based on the court's "independent review of the Applicants' prima facie showing and its conclusion that the discovery sought in fact relates to claims and defenses they intend to assert in good faith."); *In re Republic of Ecuador*, No. 1:10-MC-00040 GSA, 2010 WL 4027740 (E.D. Cal. Oct. 14, 2010) (granting a § 1782 application brought by the Republic of Ecuador where it made a "prima facie showing that the information it seeks . . . has, generally speaking, some relevance" to an international arbitration deciding alleged violations of Chevron's due process rights in a proceeding in Ecuador).
- 59. And courts increasingly grant § 1782 applications in all types of informal and non-traditional proceedings including "investigating magistrates, administrative and arbitral tribunals, and quasi-judicial agencies." *Intel*, 542 U.S. at 258. Indeed, according to the Supreme Court, the foreign proceeding at issue must just be "within reasonable contemplation," not "pending" or "imminent." *Id.* at 247.
- 60. Here, there are four proceedings in Cambodian courts against Applicant, and the requested discovery will be used to show that (i) the statements he has made on Facebook are true and therefore cannot be defamatory, and (ii) that Hun and his cronies are colluding to suppress Applicant's lawful opposition activities, including through false legal proceedings. Applicant also is actively contemplating to initiate additional proceedings against Hun and his regime related to its numerous documented human rights abuses.
 - 61. Thus, the requested discovery easily satisfies the third element of § 1782.

II. THE SUPREME COURT'S INTEL FACTORS STRONGLY FAVOR GRANTING THIS APPLICATION

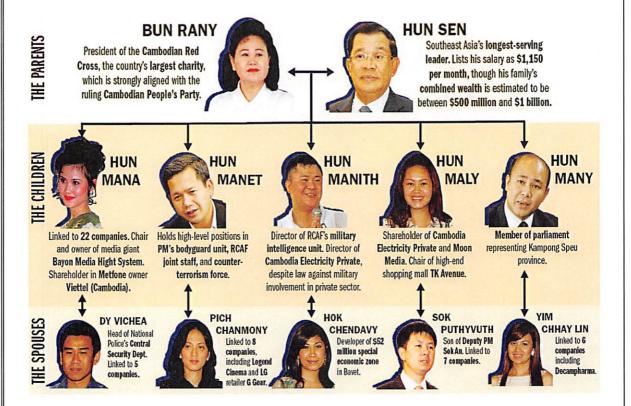
62. In addition to the three statutory factors, the Supreme Court has set forth five additional factors – known as the *Intel* factors – to guide courts' consideration of § 1782 applications. *Intel*, 542 U.S. at 264-66. Those factors are as follows: (a) the party from whom

discovery is sought is not a party to any of the foreign proceedings, (b) the information sought is highly relevant to each of the proceedings, (c) there are no applicable foreign discovery restrictions, (d) the applicant's discovery requests are not unduly burdensome, and (e) granting this discovery would promote efficient discovery. These factors all weigh in favor of granting this Application.

- A. Facebook Is Not a Party to the Foreign Proceedings
- 63. Facebook is not a party to any of the foreign proceedings at issue. (Sam Decl. ¶ 15.)
- B. The Applicant Seeks Highly Relevant Information That Will Assist the Foreign Courts
- 64. Applicant's targeted discovery requests are relevant to the claims and defenses in the cases that have been brought against him. The requested discovery about Facebook's investigations related to Hun and his cronies and complaints about Hun's account is likely to lead to evidence regarding the validity of Hun's likes. That information is relevant to Applicant's truth defense in the defamation proceeding against him for stating that many of Hun's likes are fake.
- 65. Applicant seeks discovery regarding Hun's communications with Som Soeun, who has brought a suit against Applicant. (Sam Decl. ¶¶ 6-7, 11-12.) The evidence that he seeks regarding the timing of Hun and Som's communications will show that they coordinated the case Som filed against Applicant, and demonstrate bias.
- 66. Similarly, Applicant seeks non-content evidence regarding Hun's communications with Thy Sovantha, an individual Hun claims Applicant "defamed" when Applicant posted on Facebook that she had accepted a \$1 million bribe to stop supporting the CNRP and instead support Hun's regime. (*Id.* ¶ 12.) The requested discovery will show that Applicant's statements are true and therefore cannot be defamatory as truth is a complete defense to defamation claims in Cambodia. (*Id.* ¶ 17; Ex. 7.) It will also show that Sovantha coordinated her accusations against Applicant with Hun and his regime.
- 67. Applicant's requested non-content discovery about communications between Hun and his sons that are responsible for "security," "intelligence" and "policing" (Hun Manith, Hun Manet and Dy Vichea) will show whether and when they were communicating among themselves around the time that Dr. Kem Lay was assassinated. This evidence will show that Hun was

responsible for this murder, which is relevant to Applicant's truth defense in the proceeding against him, which asserts that he "defamed" Hun by noting that Hun was responsible for the assassination.

- 68. For the same reasons, the non-content discovery Applicant seeks regarding Hun and his cronies' communications regarding Applicant, the legal cases against Applicant, the CNRP, Kem Sokha, and Dr. Kem Lay is all relevant to their coordination around all those activities. The requested evidence helps show that Hun and his cohorts orchestrated the proceedings against Applicant in a continuation of their efforts to suppress opposition activities and political speech just as they have done in the past, and as they recently did with Kem Sokha and other CNRP members.
- 69. Applicant also seeks non-content information about communications between Hun and his family members which are the source of the prosecutions against him and at the heart of the parties' disputes. Hun and his family members, including those identified in the Application, have a well-documented history of colluding to cement their control over Cambodia's public and private sectors resulting in "Hun Sen having near-total control over the country."



1 (Hagey Decl., Ex. 4 (Shaun Turton and Phak Seangly, Inside the Hun Family's Business Empire,

PHNOM PEN PENH POST, July 27, 2016, available at http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national-post-

depth-politics/inside-hun-familys-business-empire (Hun Family's Business Empire Article); Id.,

Ex. 5 (Hostile Takeover, GLOBAL WITNESS (July 7, 2016),

https://www.globalwitness.org/en/reports/hostile-takeover/ (Global Witness Report)).)

70. Finally, Lim Cheavutha has publicly admitted that he messages with Hun to coordinate fake news stories emanating from his "independent" website. (Hagey Decl., **Ex. 15** (Democracy Has Fallen Apart Article).) Lim's articles are coordinated with Hun's false prosecutions. (*Id.* ("On Sept. 3, about a week after Fresh News first accused the Kem family of having ties to the CIA, dozens of police pushed through the gates of Kem Sokha's family home in Phnom Penh and arrested him. He was charged with treason and faces up to 30 years in prison.").) And they would not be possible without a unified Facebook strategy. (*Id.* (quoting Lim as stating "Facebook is an absolute necessity for my site.").) Such discovery is relevant to showing that the prosecutions and press surrounding them are staged.⁴

C. No Foreign Discovery Restrictions Bar Applicant's Requested Discovery

- 71. A criminal defendant in a Cambodian litigation is entitled to seek discovery in aid of his defense. (Sam Decl. ¶ 19; Ex. 9.) Cambodia's Code of Civil Procedure also allows for discovery, including motions to compel production from third parties, akin to the discovery devices used in the United States. (Sam Decl. ¶ 20; Ex. 10.) For example, section 150 establishes a "duty to disclose" documents, and section 152 provides: "Where the court determines that sufficient grounds for an order to produce documents exist, the court shall issue a ruling ordering the holder of the documents to produce such documents."
- 72. Further, § 1782 can be used to seek discovery that is broader than that available in the foreign forum. In *Intel*, the Supreme Court stressed that district courts may compel discovery of materials that cannot be discovered in foreign jurisdictions. *Intel*, 542 U.S. at 259-63 ("Beyond shielding material safeguarded by an applicable privilege . . . nothing in the text of § 1782 limits a

⁴ Such evidence will also show that Hun has no regard for Facebook's policies. This tends to show that Hun's "likes" are fake.

1	district court's production-order authority to materials that could be discovered in the foreign
2	jurisdiction if the materials were located there"). And there is no requirement to first seek
3	discovery from the foreign court or to otherwise exhaust other options before applying to a district
4	court. In re Management Servs., Ltd., 2005 WL 1959702, at *3 (E.D.N.Y. Aug. 16, 2005) ("§ 1782
5	does not contain an exhaustion requirement that would impose upon an applicant a duty to first
6	seek the requested discovery from the foreign court") (citing Application of Malev Hungarian
7	Airlines, 964 F.2d 97, 100 (2d. Cir. 1992)).
8	D. The Requested Discovery Is Targeted to Avoid Undue Burden
9	73. The Applicant's discovery requests are targeted to documents and information
10	relevant to defending against the claims that have been asserted against him. See Supra at § II(B).
11	E. Granting Applicant's § 1782 Request Would Promote Efficient Discovery
12	74. The discovery Applicant seeks is relevant in four separate foreign proceedings, each
13	with their own procedural posture and timelines. An order compelling prompt disclosure of the
14	discovery sought would facilitate a prompt adjudication of these pending foreign proceedings.
15	CONCLUSION
16	For the reasons set forth above, Applicant respectfully requests that the Application be
17	granted.
18	Dated: February 8, 2018 BRAUNHAGEY & BORDEN LLP
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20	J. Noah Hagey, Esq.
21	Attorneys for Applicant Sam Rainsy
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